SPIEGEL MEMORIAL VOLUME.

PAPERS ON IRANIAN SUBJECTS

WRITTEN BY

VARIOUS SCHOLARS

IN HONOUR OF

The Late Dr. FREDERIC SPIEGEL.

EDITED BY

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Bombay
PRINTED AT THE
BRITISH INDIA, PRESS, BYCULLA,

1908.

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Etymological Studies in Ormazdian and Ahrimanian words in Avestan

BY

LEO J. FRACHTENBERG, M.A.

The following monograph is the outcome of my studies in the Indo-Iranian Department at Columbia University, where in my Avestan reading I was struck by the peculiar attitude, which the holy scriptures of the lofty religion of Zarathushtra take towards the creatures of Ahura-Mazda on one side and Angra-Mainyu on the other.[1] Not only does this ancient faith uphold the conventional religious distinction, made between righteous and wicked men, but, as is well known, it goes so far as to make even verbal distinctions between the actions and qualities of Ormazdians and Ahrimanians, be they men or animals, and to use separate linguistic expressions in such cases. These expressions occur mostly in pairs and in parallel passages, and in a few instances only is an antonym wanting for any particular word.

This special phenomenon, to be sure, is not confined to Avestan only. It has its parallels in Hebrew and in other ancient tongues, but it is by no means so fully carried out there. It appears also in modern languages, where the distinction is drawn between men and animals. This fact has suggested to the writer the idea that possibly in Avestan also the distinction was not primarily due to religious influences, but was caused originally by a desire to distinguish between man and animal, and that it received in course of time a religious colouring. This opinion received direct substantiation through a series of etymological and semantic investigations, aimed at the reconstruction of the original meaning of the words under discussion. Even if some may not agree as to the value of semasiological reconstructions, it has seemed to the writer, at all events, worth while to group all the Ormazdian and Ahrimanian words together, and to present the results of his researches into their etymology and meaning.

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1 See for example Jackson, *Die Iranische Religion*, in *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.* v. 2, p. 628, note 2. (Strassburg, 1896-1904.)

After a careful examination of the Avestan vocabulary, 36 polar words of the character referred to have been found. These embrace 13 nominal and 23 verbal expressions which show this special distinction. Ten of these 13 verbs occur in pairs, while 15 of the 23 nouns show antonyms. In discussing these lists of words it will be found convenient to begin with the verbal expressions.

VERBS.

1. *gam-*, *ay-*, 'to go,' of Ormazdians.
   dvar-, 'to go, run,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt.[1] *gácchati* 'he goes'—Mp. *āmadan* 'to come, arrive'—Arm. *gnal* 'to come'—Gk. βαίνω, βάσκω 'I come'—Lat. *veniō* 'I go'—Goth. *qiman* 'to come'—O. Icel. *koma* 'to come'—AS. *cuman* 'to go, come'—prim. Idg. **g^{u}em-*, 'to go, come.'

Cp. Skt. *éti* 'he goes'—O. Bulg.[2] *idą, iti* 'to go'—Lith. *eimì* 'I come'—Gk. εἶμι 'I go'—Lat. *eō* 'I go'—O. Ir. *ethaim* 'I go.' The same stem appears in O. Bulg. *jadą* 'I ride'—Lith. *jóti* 'to ride'—Goth. *iddja* 'he went'—prim. Idg. **eia-*, 'to go.'

Cp. Skt. *dràvati* 'he runs, hastens.' The word occurs in Indo-Iranian only. Fick[3] compares here Gk. θρώσκω, τορεῖν 'to leap, spring.' Lat. *fraus* 'deceit, fraud,' and reconstructs the primitive Indo-Iranian form as *×dhvar-*,[4] 'to hasten, jump, leap,' which however is not probable. The explanation of Uhlenbeck is a much better one. According to him[5] the primitive Indo-Germanic root was **dreu-*, and occurred likewise as **drem*, in Skt. *drámati* 'he runs.'—Gk. δρόμος 'a running, course.'

The original meaning was therefore 'to run, hasten, leap.' The distinction is evident. The primitive Indo-German, who shared with all primitive races a deep and extensive faculty of observation, distinguished the slow, quiet, and dignified step of men from the restless running or hastening of animals and contrasted them in the parallel *gam-*, *dvar-*.

[1] Skt. = Sanskrit; Mp. = Modern Persian; Arm. = Armenian; Gk. = Greek; Goth. = Gothic; O. Icel. = Old Icelandic; AS. = Anglo-Saxon; Idg = Indo-Germanic; a star (*) indicates the reconstructed Indo-Germanic form.

[2] O. Bulg. = Old Bulgarian; Lith. = Lithuanian.

[3] Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen*, 4 ed. p. 247. (Göttingen 1890.)

[4] A cross (×) indicates the reconstructed Indo-Iranian form. Dots (. . . .) indicate omissions in a citation.

[5] Uhlenbeck, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache*, p. 132. (Amsterdam, 1898.)

These parallels occur in Avestan frequently. A few instances will suffice:

āca nō j a m y ā ţ *avaŋhe vərəthrajāə sraošō ašyō.* Ys.[1] 57. 3.

.. *yō vīspaēibyō haca arəzaēibyō vavaŋvāə paiti* . j a s a i t i . . . Ys. 57. 12.

.. *frā ahmāţ parō vīspe daēva anusō taršta* . . d v a r ə n t i . Ys. 57. 18.

.. *yō mąm aēvō* j a m a y e i t i *yō spitāmō zarathuštrō* . . Yt. 17. 20.

yehe ząthaēca vakhšaēca a p a . d v a r a ţ *aŋrō mainyuš* . . Yt. 17. 19.

. . *nīsta daēva aēša vō* d v a r a i t i *būšyąsta darəghō. gava* . . Vd.[2] 18. 16, 24.

. . *yatārō paurvō usəhištaiti* p a r ā i t i[3] *vahištahe aŋhāuš* . . Vd. 18, 26.

Besides these parallels there are many passages in which the euphemistic expression for 'to go' is used with a wicked being. These apparent inconsistencies might indicate that the religious distinction between the actions of good and wicked creatures was coined artificially; for only thus can we explain passages like:

.. *pərəsmanāng* u p a . j a s a ţ *hyaţ vərənātā* a c i š t ə m m a n ō. Ys. 30. 6.

or again:

ništaţ paiti d r u k h š *nāšaite yadhāţ aiwiciţ* j a g h m a ţ . . Yt. 19. 12.

and

yaţ paoirīm d a ē v a y a s n ō *kərəṇtāţ apa hō* j a s a ţ . . Vd. 7. 39.

If this differentiation were really inherent in the language, it would have been carried through systematically. This is especially shown by the fact that in no case is *dvar-* used with a good creature.

2. *fra . car-*, 'to go, walk,' of Ormazdians.
pat-, 'to go, rush,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *cárati* 'he moves.'—Mp. *carīdan* 'to graze, pasture.' Skt. *cakrá* 'wheel.'—Av.[4] *cakhra-* 'wheel.'—O. Bulg. *kolo* 'wheel'—Lith. *kelỹs* 'way'—Gk. πέλομαι 'I move'—Lat. *colō* 'I till, inhabit'—AS. *hwēol* 'wheel.' The prim. Idg. **q̑ᵘel-*, seemed to have meant 'to turn around,' for otherwise we could not explain the fact that some groups of languages contain this word in the meaning 'to turn,' and others 'to go, move, walk.'

1 YS = Yasna; Yt. = Yasht. The edition, from which the passages are quoted, is: Geldner, *Avesta, the Sacred Books of the Parsis*, 3 vol. (Stuttgart, 1886.)

2 Vd. = Vendīdād.

3 3rd sing. ind. praes. from *para . ay-*, 'to go.'

4 Av. = Avestan.

Cp. Skt. *pátati* 'he flies, falls' (*pāta* 'a fall')—Gk. πέτομαι 'I fly'—Lat. *petō* 'I rush, attack'—O. Ir. *én* 'bird.' The prim. Idg. **pet-* must have meant 'to rush, fall.'

Avestan uses the same word to express the 'falling' of water (Yt. 5. 8, 47) and the 'flying' of birds (Vd. 5. 12, 13).

It is easy to see that the primitive Indo-German expresses in this parallelism the difference between the 'walking' of men and the rapid and sudden 'hurrying' of animals.

Parallel passages are quite frequent.

pança . dasa fra.carōithe *pita puthrasca .. yavata khšayōiṭ hvąthwō yimō* .. Ys. 9. 5.

tūm zəmargūzō akərənavō vīspe daēva zarathuštra yōi para ahmāṭ vīrō . raoɔha apatayən ... Ys. 9. 15.

and such passages as

bādha vairīm ācaraiti *aspō . kəhrpąm ašaonīm* .. Yt. 8. 8.

.. *yō pairikāə titārayeiti yāə stārō kərəmāə* patąnti .. Yt. 8. 8.

There are a few interesting inconsistencies in connection with this parallelism. The root *car-* is used twice with animals:

yaṭ me aēšąmciṭ nmānanąmca caratō *dva mā* .. spā pasuš . haurvō *yasca* spā viš haurvō. Vd. 13. 49.

təm ithra fra.carəṇta pasvasca staorāca *mašyāca.* Vd. 2. 11.

These inconsistencies can easily be explained. In the first case the 'walking' pertains to a shepherd-dog and to a house-dog, both of which are good creatures; in the second case the flocks and herds mentioned are creatures of Yima.

3. *tak-*, 'to go, walk,' of Ormazdians.

zbar-, 'to go, walk crooked,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *tákti* 'he hastens, dashes.'—O. Bulg. *teką* 'I run.'—Lith. *tekù* 'I run'—O. Ir. *techim* 'I fly.'—Goth. *thius* 'servant.'—AS. *theow* 'servant.' (orig. 'a runner')—prim. Idg. **teq-*, 'to run, flow.'

Cp. Skt. *hvárati, hválati* 'he goes crooked, astray.'—O. Bulg. *zŭlu* 'bad.'—Lith. *pažulno* 'declivous, sloping.'—×*zhvar* 'to bend, crook.' The original meaning of the Idg. root must have been 'to bend, go, to run crooked.'

If we take the original meaning of these two words into consideration, we understand at once that the distinction goes back to men and animals.

There is only one passage in Avestan where *tak-* and *zbar-* occur in parallels:

. . *ā taṯ hᵛarənō frazgadhata taṯ hᵛarənō* a p a . t a c a ṯ . . Yt., 19. 56.

yō janaṯ arəzo.šamanəm . . jirəm z b a r ə m n ə m . . Yt. 19. 42.

In a few instances is *tak-* applied to the 'flowing' of water (Yt. 6. 2; 13. 10, 14, 54, 78; 14. 54). One inconsistency is to be found in Yt. 10. 20, where *tak-* is used with a wicked creature:

yōi mithro . drująm vazyąstra bavainti t a c i ṇ t ō . . . .

(For an explanation of this inconsistency, see p. 283.)

4. *para.raēth-*, 'to die,' of Ormazdians.

ava.mar-, 'to die,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Goth. °*leithan* 'to go.'—O. Icel. *lídha* 'to go.'

The word unfortunately occurs only in a few Idg. dialects, for which reason it is hard to restore the original meaning of it. It is, however, probable that it meant 'to go away' and was used like Lat. *abire* as a euphemistic expression for 'death.'[1] (Cp. also English 'to pass away.')

For *mar-*, cp. Skt. *márate* 'he dies.'—Arm. *meɬanim* 'I die.'—O. Bulg. *mĭrą* 'I die.'—Lith. *miřti* 'to die.'—Gk. *βροτός* 'mortal.'—Lat. *morior* 'I die.'—O. Ir. *marb* 'death.'—Goth. *maúrthr* 'murder.'—O. Icel. *mordh* 'murder.'—AS. *mordhor* 'murder.'

The Idg. **mer-*, 'to die,' has been connected by Curtius and Vanicek[2] with **merāxq-*, 'to injure, fade, wither, rot' (cp. Lat. *marcēō* 'I fade.'—O. Icel. *merja* 'to bruise, crush.'—German *morsch* 'decaying, rotten.')

There can be no doubt that the differentiation between *raēth-* and *mar-* is an artificial one, since otherwise we should not have expressions like Av. *amaršant* 'undying'—Gk. *ἀμβροσία, ἄμβροτος* 'immortal,' etc.

The Avestan distinction of these two words is rather similar to that made between German '*sterben*' and '*krepieren*,' French '*mourir*' and '*crever*,' Polish '*umierać*' and '*zdechnąć*' or Hebrew (colloquially) '*mēth*' and '*pĕgĕr*.' *mar-* and

1 Bartholomæ, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, p. 1481 (Strassburg, 1904).
2 Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 394 (Heidelberg, 1906).

raēth- occur consistently in opposition to each other, if they are combined with *ava* and *para* respectively, *e.g.*

yaṯ ašava p a r a . i r i t h y e i t i *kva aētąm* . . Yt. 22. 1.[1]

yaṯ drvāə̄ a v a . m a i r y e i t e *kva aētąm* . . Yt. 22. 19.

. . *adim aokhta pərəsō pourvō* . *ašava* p a r a . i r i t h y ō . . Yt. 22. 19.

. . *adim aokhta pərəsō pourvō* . *drvō* a v a . m ə r ə t ō . . Yt. 22. 34.

In all other cases the opposition ceases, and we find expressions like *amaršant* 'undying', *amərəkhtiš* 'immortality', or we find *mar* applied to frogs (Vd. 5. 36), which is very natural, since *mar-* never had a contemptuous meaning. In the same way do we find the use of *raēth-*, with animals, especially dogs. (Vd. 5. 39 ; 8. 1 ; 13. 50).

5. *hᵛar-*, 'to eat,' of Ormazdians.
gah-, 'to eat, devour,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Mp. *khvurdan* 'to eat.'

Cp. Skt. *ghásati* 'he devours.'

I cannot go into a lengthy discussion of these words, as they appear in Indo, Iranian only. There can, however, be no doubt that the distinction is a natural one and goes back to that made between men and animals. It finds its parallels in German '*essen*' and '*fressen*' or Slavic '*jesć*' and '*zreć*.'

The only parallel passage is contained in Vd. 7.

. . *aēta yōi daēva aētašva dakhmaēšva* g a ᵑ h ə ŋ t i . . Vd. 7, 55.

. . *yatha aētahmi aᵑhvō yūžəm yōi mašyāka* h v a r e t h a . . Vd. 7, 55.

Two passages use *hᵛar-* where we ought to have expected *gah-* :

mā mē aētayāə̄ zaothrayāə̄ f r a ᵑ h a r e ŋ t u h a r e t ō m a t a f t ō. Yt. 5. 92.

nōiṯ avāə̄ zaothraə̄ . . *māvōya* f r a ᵑ h a r ə ŋ t i a ŋ d ā ə̄ s c a . . Yt. 5. 93.

In one passage a nominal derivative of *hᵛar-* is applied to both good and wicked creatures.

. . *taṯ asti yūnō* h u m a n a ᵑ h ō . . h ᵛ a r ə t h ə m *pasca para* . *iristīm* . . Yt. 22. 18.

. . *taṯ asti yūnō* d u š m a n a ᵑ h ō h ᵛ a r e t h ə m *pasca ava* . *mərəitim*. Yt. 22. 36.

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[1] The text edition used for Yt. 22 is : Westergaard, *Zendavesta*, Vol. I. pp. 296ff. (Copenhagen, 1852-54).

Here again, as in other previous cases, do these inconsistencies reflect upon the weakness and conventionality of the religious differentiation. Barring these passages, the parallel, *hᵛar-* and *gah-*, prevails consistently throughout the holy books. The root *hᵛar-*, to be sure, is applied to birds and dogs (Vd. 2. 26; 5. 8, 14, 40; 13. 28, 45, etc.), but it must be remembered that these animals are creatures of Spenta-Mainyu.

6. *mrav-*, *vaš-*, 'to speak,' of Ormazdians.
dav-, 'to speak, howl.' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *brávīti* 'he speaks.'—O. Ir. *frith-bruth* 'negation.'—Goth. *brūths* 'bride.'—AS. *bryd* 'bride.'—prim. Idg.* *mrū-*, 'to speak.'

Cp. Skt. *vákti* 'he speaks'—Gk. εἰπεῖν 'to say.'—Lat. *vocāre* 'to call.' O. Ir. *faig* 'he said.'—OHG.[1] *giwahan* 'to remark, tell.'—prim. Idg. **u̯eq-*, 'to speak, say.'

The etymology of *dav-* is unknown. Bartholomae[2] mentions a Ṣarikoli word *ɯar-dhauan* and translates it 'I am talking in my sleep.' Horn[3] connects it with Phl.[4] *davastan* 'to howl.'

The fact that the word occurs only in one dialect does not allow us to restore the etymological meaning of it. It is highly probable, however, that the distinction was a natural one, as in English 'to speak' and 'to howl,' or in German between *reden*' and '*brummen*,' or '*brüllen*.' The parallel passages of *mrav-* and *dav-* are too numerous to mention them fully. A few instances will suffice:

. . *amāica thwā vərəthraghnāica māvōya* u p a . m r u y e . . Ys. 9. 27.
haomō təmciṯ yim kərəsānīm . . *yō* d a v a t a. Ys. 9. 24.
m r a o ṯ *ahurō mazdāə spitamāi zarathuštrāi*. Yt. 3. 1.
a d a v a t a *aᵓrō* . *mainyuš pouru* . *mahrkō*. Yt. 3. 14.
adhāṯ uiti f r a . v a š a t a *yō spitāmō zarathuštrō*. Yt. 17. 18.
yehe zaṯhaēca vakhšaēca apa . *dvarat aᵓrō* . *mainyuš* . . *uiti* d a v a t a. Yt. 17. 19.
. . *uiti* m r a o ṯ *ahurō mazdāə āi* . *ašāum*. . . Vd. 18.1, etc.
āaṯ hē hā p a i t i . d a v a t a *yā daēvi drukhš*. Vd. 18. 36, etc.

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[1] OHG. = Old High German.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 688.
[3] Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, p. 272. 66 (Strassburg, 1893).
[4] Phl. = Pahlavi.

7. *fra . thwarəs-*, 'to create,' of Ormazdians.

fra . karət-, 'to create,' of Ahrimanians.

thwarəs- occurs in Avestan only.

For *karət-*, cp. Skt- *kṛntáti* 'he cuts.'—Lith. *kertù'* I cut, split.'—Gk. κραίνω 'I cut.,—Lat. *creāre* ' to create.' The basis for these words is the augmented prim. Idg.* *ker-*, 'to make.'

There does not seem to be any essential difference in the meaning of these two words. Both ultimately mean 'to shape, cut, create.' The distinction appears to be merely conventional. The makers of the Avestan holy books have become so used to the linguistic law of polarity that in cases where they did not have the distinct use of words relating to men or animals, they simply created such distinctions in an artificial way. The parallel occurs but once:

paoirīm asaŋhąmca . . . f r a . t h w ə r ə s ə m *azəm yō ahurō mazdāə*
Vd. 1. 2, 4, 6.

āaţ ahe paityārəm f r a . k ə r ə ŋ t a ţ *aŋrō, mainyuš pouru. mahrkō.*
Vd. 1. 2, 4, 6.

That there was originally no essential difference in the meaning of both words is best proven by the following passage:—

. . *usvā hē gaošəm* t h w ə r ə s a i t i *apa vā hē paidhyąm kereŋtaiti,*
Vd. 13. 10.

The idea of apposition is applied to *thwares-* and *karət-* if they are combined with the preposition *fra.* In all other cases the words are used arbitrarily, as in Yt. 14. 62, where *karət-* is applied to Verethraghna, which is very natural. since *karət*n-ever had a contemptuous meaning.

8. *zan-*, 'to give birth,' of Ormazdians.

hav-, 'to give birth,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *jánati* 'he bears.'—Arm. *tsnanim* 'I give birth.'—O. Bulg. *zętĭ* 'son-in-law.'—Gk . γίγνομαι 'I am born.'—Lat. *gignō* 'I bear.'—O. Ir. *ro génar* 'I was born.'—Goth. *kunni* 'race.'—AS. *cennan* 'to bear.'—prim. Idg. **ĝnē-*, ** ĝnō-*, ** ĝn̥-*, 'to bear, give birth.' related to ** ĝnō-*, 'to know.' [1]

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[1]. Uhlenbeck, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotische Sprache*, 2nd ed. p. 97. (Amsterdam, 1900.)

Cp. Skt. *sūte* 'he bears, he is born.'—O. Bulg. *synŭ* 'son.'—Lith. *sunus* 'son.'—Gk. *ὑιός* 'son.'—O. Ir. *suth* 'birth.'—Goth. *sunus* 'son'—O. Icel. *sonr* 'son'—prim. Idg. * *sŭ*, to bear, give birth.'

The distinction between *zan-* and *hav-* seems to be another case of arbitrary and artificial use of words. The original meaning of both words is undoubtedly the same, and there is nothing to justify the euphemistic idea attributed in Avestan to *zan-*, or the contemptuous meaning applied to *hav-*. The distinction seems to be similar to that made between German '*gebären*' and '*junge werfen*.'

A parallel passage containing both words in their respective meanings could not be found. The radical *hav-*, however, is used constantly of Ahrimanians; while *zan-* is applied twice to animals:—

bawaini vastrāə vaŋhata arədvī sūra anāhita thri.satanąm b a w r a n ą m c a t u r e , z ī z a n a t ą m . . Yt. 5. 129.

yaţ bā paiti fraēštəm u s . z ī z ə n t i p a s v a s c a s t a o r ā c a. Vd. 3. 5.

The use here is natural, since we deal in both these latter cases with animals of the Good Spirit. There is, however, one inconsistency in connection with *zan-*. The word is applied in Ys. 11, 6. to righteous and wicked creatures.

nōiţ ahmi nmāne z ā n ā i t e ā t h r a v a *naēdha rathaēštāə naēdha vāstryō fšuyąs. āaţ ahmi nmāne* z a y ā ə ņ t e d a h a k ā c a m u r a k ā c a . .

That certain distinctions are artificial and conventional is proved beyond doubt by the next two sets of words, which do not justify any sort of differentiation whatsoever. Both occur in Yt. 22 and are used in parallel lines.

9. *bav-*, 'to be,' of Ormazdians. cp. Skt. *babhúva* 'he was.'
   ah-, 'to be,' of Ahrimanians. cp. Skt. *ásti* 'he is.'
   . . *katha te darəghem ušta* a b a v a ţ. Yt. 22. 16.
   . . *katha te darəghem āvōya* a ŋ h a ţ. Yt. 22. 34.

10. *ni. had-*, 'to sit down,' of Ormazdians. cp. Skt, *niṣad-* 'to sit,
    han. dvar-, 'to run, go,' of Ahrimanians. cp. Skt. *drávati* 'he runs';

asne vaghdhanāţ n i š . h i d h a i t i. Yt. 22. 2.
asne kamərədhāţ h a n . d v a r a i t i. Yt. 22. 20.

The first case needs no explanation. In the second case a word 'to sit' is used

would mean 'the goer, walker', fig. 'hand', and it is unnecessary for me to say that only animals walk on their hands.

The parallel passages, in which these two words occur, are:—

āaṯ yaṯ mithrō fravazaite avi haēnayā . . apąš g a v ō *darəzayeiti.* Yt. 10. 48.

vazrəm z a s t a y a *dražəmnō satafštānəm satō. darəm.* Yt. 10. 96.

. . *adha ātarš* z a s t a *paiti* apa. *gəurvayaṯ frakhšni.* . Yt. 19. 48.

. . *adha ažiš* g a v a *paiti* apa. *gəurvayaṯ frakhšni.* . Yt. 19. 50.

In the other non-parallel passages the distinction above mentioned prevails.

3. *manaothrī-*, 'neck,' of Ormazdians.

grīvā-, 'neck,' of Ahrimanians.

The etymology of *manaothrī-* is unexplained.

For *grīvā-*, cp. Skt. *grīvā-*, 'neck of a mountain.' Mp. *girībān* 'collar.' Kurdic *grīvān* 'upper part, neck of a shirt.' Paštu *girēvān* 'collar, cape of garment.' Arm. *grapan* 'pocket.'[1]

Uhlenbeck[2] connects *grīvā-*, with Skt. *girāti* 'he devours' Av. *gar,* 'to devour' Arm. *ker* 'food'. O. Bulg. *žirą* 'I devour,' *grŭlo* 'throat' Lith. *geriù* 'I trink' Gk. βορά 'food, meat', Lat. *vorāre* 'to devour' OHG. *querdar* 'lure.'

This etymology has not been objected to, and *grīvā-*, therefore, means orignally 'devourer, glutton,' fig. 'throat, neck,' applied to animals, in opposition to *manaothrī-* which seems to have been a euphemistic word for 'neck.'

Parallel passages are wanting. Both words, however, are applied consistently to righteous and wicked creatures respectively.

4. *dōithra-*, 'eye' of Ormazdians.

aš-, 'eye' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *dīdheti* 'he sees, thinks'—Mp. *dīdan* 'to see'—Albanian *ditur*ë *ditme* 'wisdom, knowledge'—O. Bulg. *divo* 'wounder'—Gk. θεάομαι 'I see'—Goth. *filu-deisei* 'cunningness'—prim. Idg. **dheia-*, **dhi-*, 'to see, perceive.'

Cp. Skt. *akṣi* 'eye'—Arm. *akn* 'eye'—O. Bulg. *oko* 'eye'—Lith. *akìs* 'eye'—Gk. ὀφθαλμός, ὄκταλλος 'eye,' ὄψομαι 'I see'—Lat. *oculus* 'eye'—prim. Idg. **ok-*, **oq̑u-*, **oks-*, 'to see.'

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[1] Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik,* 1st part, p. 132, No. 153 (Leipzig, 1897).

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 80-84.

The distinction is merely a conventional one, since the etymology of both words does not show any inherent difference in meaning that would warrant the differentiation made in Avestan.

Parallel passages could not be found, but the use of both words is consistent. It is interesting to note that *dōithra-* is often combined with *duž*, used in the sense of 'evil eye' and applied to the Daēvas (Yt. 3. 8, 11, 15), just as *aš-* is strengthened by the prefix *agha* (Vd. 20. 37). This fact again proves the artificiality of the distinction, for if *aš-* had really a despicable meaning, the strengthening of its contemptuousness by means of prefixing *agha* would be unnecessary in this particular case.

5. *uš-*, 'ear,' of Ormazdians.
karəna-, 'ear,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Mp. *hosh* 'intellect, mind'—Arm. *uš-* 'sense' (loan-word)—O. Bulg. *umĭ*; Polish *rozum* 'sense.'—Skt. '*ávati* 'he observes'—prim. Idg. **aue-*, 'to mind.'

Cp. Skt. *kárṇa-*, 'ear.' Justi[1] and Uhlenbeck[2] connect with this the Skt. *kṛṇáti* 'he splits'—O. Ir. *scaraim* 'I cut'—prim. Idg. **kar-*, 'to split.'

The original meaning of *karəna-* would therefore be 'a slit, cleft, orifice.'

In this connection we have to deal here with another case of artificial distinction, which is shown especially by the only parallel passage in which these two words occur:—

taṯ drvatō drvatyāəsca a š i u š i k a r ə n a *gava dvarəthra* . . Yt. 11. 2

and by the arbitrary use of *uš-* in all other passages. We find *uš-* used with Ahura-Mazda (Yt. 1. 31), Mazdayasnians (Vr.[3] 15. 1), righteous men (Ys. 62. 4), Daēvayasnians (Yt. 14. 56), wicked creatures (Ys. 9. 28), enemies (Yt. 1. 28), etc.

6. *uruthwar-*, 'belly,' of Ormazdians.
maršu-, 'belly, paunch, gut,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Mp. *rodā* 'gut, bow string'—Bāluci *rōdh* 'intestines.'

The etymology of *maršu-* is not clear. The Skt. translation of this passage uses the word *duṣṭodara-*, 'wretched belly.'

1 Justi, *op. cit.* p. 80.
2 Uhlenbeck, *op. cit.* p. 46.
3 Vr. = Vispered.

Since neither of these two words occurs in other Idg. dialects, it is impossible to restore their original meaning. It is probable, however, that the distinction was artificial.

7. *āh-*, 'mouth,' of Ormazdians.

zafar-, 'mouth,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *ās* 'mouth'—Younger Av. *āəŋhan-*, 'mouth'—Lith. *ùsta* 'mouth muzzle, aperture'—Gk. *ὦα* 'edge'—Lat. *ōs* 'mouth, opening'—AS. *ōr* 'edge'—prim. Idg. **ōs*, 'mouth, slit'?

Cp. Skt. *jámbhas-* 'tooth, jaw'—O. Bulg. *zǫbъ* 'tooth'—Gk. *γόμφος* 'tooth'—O. Ir *gop* 'mouth'—AS. *comb* 'comb'—O. Icel. *kambr* 'comb'—German *kiefer* 'jaw'—prim. Idg. **ǧombhos* 'jaw.'

The distinction as to mouth and jaw is a natural one, and need not be commented upon. Cp. English 'mouth' and 'jaw,' German '*mund*' and '*maul*' or '*rachen*' and Polish '*usta*' and '*gęba.*' In each of these cases the first expression is applied to men and the second to animals.

8. *zanga-*, 'ankle,' of Ormazdians.

zangra-, 'ankle,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *jaṅghā-*, 'lower part of leg'—Vedic Skt. *jaṁhas*, 'step'—Lith. *žengiù* 'I walk'—Goth. *gaggan* 'to go'—prim. Idg.* *ǧhengh-*, 'to move, walk, go.'

The precise etymology of *zangra-* cannot be explained.

We have here before us a striking case of the coining of a word in an artificial way. There is no doubt that the stem of both words is the same, and that the *r* in *zangra-* has been infixed apparently in order to express the idea of contempt. While there is no evidence in Avestan to show that an *r* could express the idea of contempt, analogous cases in other languages might prove the case. Thus Judae-German inserts a *k* if the idea of contempt or scorn is to be expressed; e. g., *furen-furken*, 'to ride.' Sometimes the initial consonant is dropped and replaced by *shm* (colloquially); e. g., *held-shmeld*, 'hero,' etc. In German a particular sound (consonant) is strongly accentuated to convey the special idea that is intended. We find analogies for this peculiar phenomenon even in some of the American-Indian languages. In Takelma (spoken in South-West Oregon) a *sh* is prefixed to each word that coyote (the great trickster of North American mythology) utters, e. g.,

kadi naga'-it 'what did you say,' but *shkadi shnaga'-it*, 'what did you say' if coyote speaks.[1]

There is no passage in which *zanga-* and *zangra-* occur as parallels. The word *zangra-* is used in composition with *bi-*, or *cathwarə-*, and in such cases it is always contrasted with *paiti . štāna-*. For parallels see below.

9. *nāirikā-*, 'woman,' of Ormazdians.
jahikā-, 'woman,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *narā́*, 'man'—Gk. ἀνήρ 'man'—Umbrian *nerus* 'viros'—O. Ir. *nertaim.*' I make strong'—prim. Idg. * *nē(r)-* 'man.'

Cp. Av. *jahī-*, prostitute.' In the Middle-Persian writings *jěh* is the demon of menstruation.[2] Bartholomae[3] connects *jahī-* with Skt. *hasrā-*' paramour.' The Skt. translation of this passage uses *vēsyā-*' prostitute' or *paradārā-* 'another's wife.'

There can be no doubt that the distinction is a natural one, although it cannot go back to men and animals. The term *nāiri-*, 'woman,' is contrasted with *jahī-*, 'prostitute.'

The parallel passages occur quite frequently:

. . *taṯ* n ā i r i k a y ā i *frāyō. humatayāi . . h^{a}erathəm pasca para . iristīm.*
Yt. 22. 18.

. . *taṯ* j a h i k a y ā i *frāyō. dušmatayāi h^{v} arəthəm pasca ava . mərəitīm.*
Yt. 22. 36.

sraoša ašya huraodha hō bā mē aētašąm aršnąm tūiryō yaṯ nā j a h i k a *pasca . .*
Vd. 18. 54.

. . n ā i r i k ą m *cithrawaitīm dakhštvaitīm vohumavaitīm baodhō vīdhvāə. .*
Vd. 18. 67.

10. *para . iristay-*, 'death,' of Ormazdians.
ava . mərətay-, 'death,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *para . raēth-*, 'to die, pass away,' etc.

Cp. Av. *ava . mar-*, 'to die.' For a further discussion of these two words see p. 285f.

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[1] For this last example I am indebted to my friend Mr. E. Sapir, a student of Anthropology at Columbia University.

[2] Justi, *op. cit.* p. 116.

[3] *Op. cit.* 606.

The parallel passage is found in Yt. 22.

. . *taṯ asti yūnō humaŋho . . hᵛarəthəm pasca* para . iristīm. Yt. 22. 18.

. . *taṯ asti yūnō dušmanaŋho . . hᵛarəthəm pasca* ava . məraitīm. Yt. 22. 36.

11. *puthra-*, 'son, child, of Ormazdians.
hunav-, 'son, offspring, of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *putrá-*, 'son'—Mp. *pusar*, *pisar* 'son, boy'—O. Bulg. *pŭta* 'bird'—Lith. *putytis*, 'young bird'—Gk. *παῖς* 'boy'—Lat. *putus* 'boy'—prim. Idg **pouto-*, **puto-*, 'offspring'.

Cp. Skt. *sūnús-*, 'son'—O. Bulg. *syn* 'son,' etc., from prim. Idg. **sŭ-* 'to give birth.'

There is no reason to believe, that **puto-* had a euphemistic idea, just as it cannot be understood why *hunav-* should be used in a contemptuous sense. The distinction is rather a conventional and artificial one, as in German between '*kind*' (of men) and '*junges*' (of animals) or Slavic '*dziecko*' and '*mlode*.'

The words occur in many parallel passages:

tąm yazata vīsō puthrō *āthwyānōiš vīso sūrayāə thraētaonō*. Yt. 5. 33.

. . *dazdi mē . . yaṯ bavāni aiwi . vanayāə aurvō* hunavō *vaēskaya*. Yt. 5. 54.

. . *tadha* hunavō *gouru zaothranąm yata paithyāə ɣte fra . vərəsa*. Yt. 10. 113.

. . *satāyuš aɣtarə pitarə* puthrəmca . . *asti mithrō*. Yt. 10. 117.

yō janat hunavō *yaṯ pathanaya nava* hunavasca *nivikahe* hunavasca *dāštayanōiš*. Yt. 19. 41.

yaṯ asvaṯ-ərətō frakhštāite . . vīspa taurvayāə puthrō. Yt. 19. 92.

12. *bi . (cathwarə) štāna-*, 'two- (four) legged,' of Ormazdians.
bi . (cathware) zangra-, 'two- (four) legged,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *paiti. stā-* 'to stand'—Skt. *sthā-* 'to stand'—O. Bulg. *statĭ* 'to stand'—Gk. *ἱστάναι* 'to stand'—Lat. *stāre* 'to stand'—Goth. *standan* 'to stand, etc.

The designation *zangra-* has been discussed previously. See p. 294f.

yō ašava zarathuštrō ratuš . . barəšnuš bi. patistānayaə. Yt. 10. 41.

avatha astvaṭ . ərətō . . paitišāṭ paitištātəe bi.zemrō *cithrayāēdrujō.* Yt. 10. 129.

13. *han . jamana-*, 'assembly' of Ormazdians.

han . dvarəna-, 'assembly' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Mp. *anjuman* 'company, assembly' from **gu̯em-*, 'to go.'

Cp. Av. *dvar-*, 'to run, hasten,' etc.

The distinction goes back clearly to the difference made between designations for men and animals. See also pp. 282ff.

A parallel passage is found in Yt. 11.

yasca zarathuštra imaṭ ukhdhəm vacō fraoacāt . . vā ašaonąm haṇ . jamanāiš. Yt. 11. 4.

yasca . . drvatąm vā daēvayasnąm han . dvaranāiš. Yt. 11. 4.

Besides the sets of nominal expressions discussed above we find likewise sporadic nouns that are used in connection with Ormazdians or Ahrimanians only. They are:

14. *zbaratha-*, 'foot, leg,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *zbar-*, 'to go crooked,' etc. See p. 284.

The original meaning would therefore be 'a crooked leg.' The Ormazdian antonym would be *pad-*, 'foot.'

15. *gərədha-*, 'house' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *gṛhá-*, 'room, house'—Goth. *gards* 'house'—O. Icel. *gardhr* 'house' ×*gṛdhás* 'dwelling place.'

The etymology does not show why the word had in Avestan a despicable meaning. It is opposed in one passage to *nmāna-*, 'house' of Ormazdians.

yaṭ bā paiti nā ašava nmānem *uzdasta āthravaṭ . .* Vd. 3. 2.

. . yaṭ ahmya daēva haŋdvarəŋti drujō haca gərədhāta. Vd. 3. 7.

16. *aošta-*, 'upper lip' of Ahrimanians. (Dual: 'both lips.')

Justi[1] translates this word by 'loin' on account of the Phl. *rān*. (We are dealing in Phl. with an abnormal growth of hair, which was an Ahrimanian sign.) This translation seems to be incorrect.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

Cp. Skt. *ōṣṭhá-*,' lip'—O. Bulg. *usta* 'mouth'—Lat. *ausculum* 'mouth' from Skt. *ās*—Gk. ὦα etc.—**ōs-*, 'mouth.'

The exclusive application of *aošta-* to Ahrimanians seems to be a case of artificial use of words.

17. *ā-tar-*, 'attacker, oppressor, ' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *tar-*, 'to defeat, overcome '— Skt. *tar-*, 'to cross, overcome.'

Fick[1] compares likewise O. Bulg. *terą* 'to rub, grind '—Lith. *trinù* 'I rub, scratch '—Gk. τορεῖν 'to pierce' and reconstructs the prim. Idg. form as **ter-*, to press through.'

The use of the word is very natural and requires no comment.

18. *carāiti-*, 'young woman, ' of Ormazdians.

Cp. Skt. *carati-*, *ciriṇṭi-*, 'a young girl,' [2] and Ṣarikoli *čor* [3] 'young boy The etymology of the word is unknown.

19. *haēna-*, 'army, host ' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *hāy-*, 'to bind, bind loose'—Skt. *sēnā-*' army,' *syáti* 'he binds'—O. Bulg. *sĭlo* 'rope,' *sětĭ* 'net '—AS. *sāl* 'rope'—O. Icel. *seil* 'rope '—**sāi-* **sei-*, 'to knot, bind'.

The meaning is clear. Cp. German '*schaar*' and '*rotte.*'

20. *haotā-*, 'race, ' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *hav-* 'to give birth '—Skt. *sūte* 'he bears,' etc. (See p. 288f.)

21. *daoithrī-*, 'speech,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *dav-* 'to speak, howl,' see also p. 287f.

The last two parallels that will be discussed here, will show clearly that a differentiation between the qualities of a good and wicked being could be coined in an artificial way in cases where the linguistic material did not distinguish between men and animals. These words are :

22. *baoday-*, 'odor, ' of Ormazdians.

ǫantay-, 'bad smell, stench, ' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Skt. *bódhi-*, 'perfect knowledge ' from *bódhati* 'he perceives '—Mp. *boy*, *būy* 'odor, perfume '—Lith. *baudziù* 'I punish, reproach '—O. Bulg.

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[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59, 60.

[2] Fick, *op. cit.* p. 184.

[3] Bartholomae, *op. cit.* p. 581.

bljudą 'I observe'—Gk. πυνθάνομαι πεύθομαι 'I search, ask, hear'—. . O. Ir. *buide* 'approval'—Goth. *biudan* 'to announce, command'—AS. *bēodan* 'to announce, offer'—prim. Idg. **bheudh-* 'to perceive, notice.'

Cp. Skt. *gandhá,* odor—Mp. *gand* 'bad smell, stink.' The etymology of the word is obscure.

Both these words meant originally 'to observe, perceive,' figuratively 'to smell.' The etymology does not justify drawing any distinction between them whatsoever. In Avestan the words are applied both to Ormazdians and Ahrimanians, and it is natural that such a differentiation should be made.

For parallels cp. the following passage:

. . *yō narš ašaonō urva urvarāhuca paiti* baoidhišca . . Yt. 22. 7.

. . *yō narš drvatō urva aēithāhuca paiti* gaintīšca . . Yt. 22. 25.

The other illustration referred to is:

23. *āfrītay-*, 'blessing,' of Ormazdians.
āfrīta-, 'curse,' of Ahrimanians.

Cp. Av. *āfrī*, 'to wish in good or bad sense'—Skt. *prīṇāti* 'he rejoices'—O. Bulg. *prijatĭ* 'to love'—O. Ir. *ríar* 'desire, wish'—Goth. *frijōn* 'to love—AS. *frēond* 'friend'—prim. Idg. **prī* 'to rejoice, love,wish joy, favour.'

Here again we have a case of artificial application of meanings. A word with originally one meaning has been used in a double sense, according to whom it referred. The original meaning 'to enjoy, love, favour' has been split into 'blessing' for Ormazdians and 'curse' for Ahrimanians.

We have thus seen that most of the reconstructed meanings of the words discussed above show their original application to men or animals only. In cases where the original meaning could not be reconstructed, the distinction was apparently created in an artificial way, which is especially brought out by parallels like *ah- bav-*, *zanga- zangra-*, *baodhay- gantay-*, etc. On the face of such evidence the writer deems it, therefore, safe to assume that the religious distinction between the actions of good and wicked creatures in Avestan is artificial and was based upon the original desire to distinguish between men and animals.

List of words discussed in this paper.

(The numbers refer to the sections).

VERBS.

ah- 9.
ay- 1.
bav- 9.
car-.fra 2.
dav- 6.
dvar- 1
gah- 5.
gam- 1.
had.ni 10.
hav- 8.
h^{v}ar- 5.
karət-.fra 7
mar-.ava 4.
marek- 12.
mrav- 6.
pat- 2.
raēth-.para 4.
raod- 13.
tak- 3.
ṯbaēš- 11.
thwərəs-.fra 7.
vaš- 6.
zan- 8.
zbar- 3.

NOUNS.

aošta- 16
aš- 4.
āfrītay- 23.
āh- 7.
ā-tar- 17.
baoday- 22.
carāiti- 18.
daoithrī- 21.
dōithra- 4.
dvarəna-.haṇ 13.
gantay- 22.
gav- 2.
gərədha- 15.
grīvā- 3.
jahikā- 9.
jamana-.haṇ 13.
kamərədha- 1.
karəna- 5.
manaōthrī- 3.
maršu- 9.
mərətay-.ava 10.
nairikā- 9.
paitištāna-.bi ,- cathwarə 12.
puthra- 11.
uruthîvar- 6.
uš- 5.
vaghdhana- 1.
zafar- 7.

haēna- 19.
haotā- 20.
hunav- 11.
irista-.para 10.
zanga- 8.
zangra- . *bi-,cathwarə* 8.12.
zasta- 2.
zbaratha- 14.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
NEW YORK CITY;
April 1907.